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ABSTRACT

Intended as a tool for non-formal education practitioners and researchers in identifying a range of relatively fugitive material, this bibliography includes 1,779 references to descriptive and analytical materials concerning the use of the performing arts as a medium for education and social change in the Third World. An introductory essay offers a state-of-the-art review of such major concepts as folk media and popular theater, the various strands of educational and developmental activity, and their varying methodologies, contents, and organizational contexts. Uses of the performing arts within mass national education programs, small-scale community education/development projects, and popular movements are contrasted and compared. It is concluded that the field is much broader than the folk media programs often cited in development literature. Citations are alphabetically arranged by main entry and are accessible via extensive geographical and topical indexes. (Author/LMM)

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Bibliography no. 7

The popular performing arts, non-formal education and social change in the Third World: a bibliography and review essay

Ross Kidd

The Hague, February 1982

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

There is a growing interest in the live performing arts - drama, music, puppetry, dance, etc. - as tools for communication, learning, popular expression, organisation, and popular mobilization in Third World social transformation programmes. While there is a corresponding growth in research and documentation in this field, there is no bibliography which pulls together the wideranging and disparate sources on this topic. This bibliographic study is a preliminary attempt to meet this need.

The study was prompted by the compiler's own experimentation with popular theatre in community education in Botswana (1974-8). The feeling of starting from first principles, of working without a theory or other experiences to draw on, motivated the search for documentation on experiences elsewhere and on what had happened historically in this field. This required correspondence with individuals and institutions in various parts of the Third World, whose help is gratefully acknowledged. Other sources for the bibliography have been drawn from extensive travel and a systematic library search. I am particularly indebted to James Brandon, Anthony Graham-White, and Gerardo Luzuriaga who have produced theatre bibliographies on Asia, Africa, and Latin America respectively, whose "didactic" and "agitational" theatre items I have gratefully appropriated. (192, 621, 1020).

As the bibliographic collection has grown, colleagues in this field and other researchers have encouraged me to publish it and make it more easily available. In this regard I'd like to acknowledge the help of Kees Epskamp who persuaded me to stop collecting and to pull together the items and CESO for agreeing to publish it.

I'd also like to thank my family who have put up with, and done their share of lugging the boxes of documents and books; Karen Dunbar who made it all possible by converting the hand-written cards to perfectly typed copy on the computer of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education; Ellen Nix and Laraine Black for typing the introduction and index.

This is very much a bibliography in process and the author would welcome receiving information on other materials in this field.

January 1982

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1. INTRODUCTION.

The bibliographic search started as an attempt to study the performing arts in an adult education, communication, and development context. As the study proceeded it became increasingly clear that this focus was too limiting, that some of the more exciting work was taking place on the margins of or right outside the field of conventional development work. The scope was therefore broadened to include other forms of social education and action, including the wide range of performing arts activity related to education and organizing among popular groups and movements.

The defining yardstick for the search has been the notion of deliberation, of conscious uses of the performing arts to bring about or reinforce a process of social change; changes in self-concept, attitude, awareness, skill, or behaviour. ') Performing arts activity which is conceived in performance or entertainment terms only has not been included, nor has indigenous village-level theatre activity used for traditional socialization purposes. The over-riding focus has been attempts to prepare people a) to understand and change their existing situation or b) to understand and deal with changes in their lives produced by external influences (the introduction of new modes of production, social relations, technologies, etc.). This includes both attempts by the dominant classes to integrate the people into the existing political-economic structures and attempts by the popular classes to resist these integrating pressures and transform the structures of domination.

To begin with the bibliography covers a wide range of activities or contexts in which the performing arts are used. In each context the performing arts are :

a) initiated by certain institutional interests
b) for a set of social purposes
c) with various methods and
d) organizational (institutional) approaches.

2. PERFORMING ARTS AND CONVENTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

In the development field the performing arts are used as :

- a form of mass media for disseminating information about government ideology and programmes and convincing people to accept the ideas of modernization
- a teaching tool for village-level extension workers and a means of cadre training
- a medium for community education and development
- a learning, participational, and confidence-building tool for literacy work
- a codification for discussion and a means of critical analysis in the context of conscientization programmes.

') "Didactic" would be an appropriate label since it conveys that sense of purposefulness but it is inadequate because it refers to education only and implies a specific form of education (i.e."banking").

Each of these corresponds to a specific organizational and programme context :

1. centrally initiated information/education campaigns
2. extension work and village cadre training
3. community development and co-operative education/development
4. literacy and village-level training courses.

Each context represents different sources of initiative, purposes, and organizational approaches.

2.1. CENTRALLY-INITIATED INFORMATION/EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS.

Centrally-initiated information campaigns take two forms :

- mobile campaigns in which a government agency hires a number of professional troupes to tour the rural areas publicizing government ideology and development programmes
- mobilization campaigns in which large numbers of locally based theatre troupes, including amateur groups, are formed and/or encouraged to do plays in their own areas on national development policies or programmes.

The mobile approach implies direct control over the propaganda effort and operates largely on monetary incentives; the number of troupes it can field is limited by the financial resources available for salaries and transport. The mobilization approach is more indirect and relies more on appeals to the performers' commitment to a major national effort; mass participation (of both performers and ordinary villagers) is one of its objectives.

2.1.1. Mobile Campaigns.

Mobile campaigns, in which performing groups are hired to tour plays on government propaganda, can be subdivided into :

- those which have been institutionalized on a permanent basis with the creation of a full-time unit specializing in theatre-based information campaigns;
- those whose structures are temporary, created for short-term campaigns on specific subjects.

India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Mexico are the most notable examples of the category of institutionalized government-propaganda theatre.') The first three each have a permanent, specialist "song-and-drama" unit attached to their respective Ministries of Information. '') Each unit has its own full-time troupes and hires private troupes and performers on a commissioned basis.

') Institutionalized, government-sponsored propaganda theatre is not unique to the Third World. It was a feature of government propaganda in post-revolutionary France (978-9) and Russia (185, 256,418,697, 732, 1253) and was also used in the USA Federal Theatre Project of the 30's to promote campaigns against venereal disease and other social evils. (378,1095, 1245).

'') In India most of the State governments also have their own song-and-drama units for publicity work. (12)

The scale of each programme is massive - for example the Indian song-and-drama troupes are estimated to give 20,000 performances a year - and each programme is seen as a form of mass communication, a means of propagating government ideology to as many of the rural villages as possible. (see a) India - Song and Drama Division; b) Indonesia - Information Department; c) Malaysia - Information Department).

In Mexico mobile information theatre is sponsored by a range of government ministries: Education, Public Health, Social Security, etc. The oldest and most experienced programme is the Ministry of Education's Misiones Culturales, which has hired theatre groups and organized rural theatre programmes for over half a century on literacy, health, civics education, agriculture, etc. (1439, 1510). More recent examples include :

. CONASUPO (National Commission of Popular Subsistence) which, from 1970 to 1976, set up 30 troupes to tour communal farms ('ejidos') promoting consumption of CONASUPO products (1675, 1776)

. the National Board of Family Welfare which sponsors socio-drama presentations on family problems and community discussions in various 'barrios' of Mexico City (150)

. CONAPO (National Commission on Population) which conducted some experiments on family planning communication through sociodrama in 1977-1978. (13-14).

In the 50's and 60's the Ghanaian government used drama in mass education campaigns on agriculture, sanitation, literacy, family planning, local government taxation, etc. but over the last decade this type of programming has been rare. 1). Many of the earlier campaigns were run as inter-ministerial projects with members of each drama/demonstration team drawn from the Agriculture, Community Development, and Health ministries. (38, 123, 480-1, 893, 1315).

Other countries have utilized the performing arts for informational and communication purposes on a much more modest scale. For example in Malaysia the Federal Land Development Authority (FELDA), which is responsible for resettling landless peasants in newly cleared areas as tenant farmers in cash crop schemes, employs one full-time folk drama troupe to entertain the new settlers, to teach modernising practices, and to encourage each new community to set up its own theatre programme. (3, 829, 892, 1010, 1651). In Malawi and Botswana the Ministry of Agriculture operates a number of information vans which tour the rural areas giving puppet performances. (588, 1485, 1712). In Ecuador government's mobile library unit uses puppetry and drama performances to publicize the library service and as a form of education in its own right (1199); the Ministry of Health teaches dental hygiene through mobile puppetry performances; and the Central Bank employs a puppet troupe to promote the credit services available for marginal farmers and to encourage the formation of campesino organizations which can take advantage of government services. (894).

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1) This programme has been eclipsed by the non-government programme in community-based development drama organized by the People's Educational Association. (77, 573, 899, 901, 903, 1442-3, 1445-7)

Other countries have used this form of communication for a single campaign over a limited period of time - without institutionalizing this activity. Family planning has been the topic of many short-term mobile campaigns: for example Bangladesh (661, 678, 1354), Pakistan (1696), Sri Lanka (675-6), Thailand (247, 1746), Iran (45), Turkey (1658), West Indies (1483), Ecuador (502), Mexico (13-14), Haiti (1685), Ghana (99, 101), Nigeria (558), Kenya (533) and the Philippines (371-3, 777, 1238, 1331-2, 1409, 1660). Many of these campaigns have been small-scale experiments or pilot projects which have not been expanded on a national scale. Mobile troupes have also been hired to publicize national literacy projects, e.g. in Jamaica (602), Uganda (1172), Mexico (652), Guatemala (1747), and India (410, 1629).

In addition there have been a number of situation-specific government-sponsored mobile campaigns, for example :

- the life insurance and savings campaigns through mobile puppet troupes sponsored by the Life Insurance Corporation of India, the Small Savings Directorate and Literacy House (1104, 1621, 1630)
- the Indonesian campaign in the early 70's to promote the consumption of American wheat provided as food aid ') (485)
- the campagin by the National Nutrition Board (PAN) in Colombia to promote an American-produced nutritional supplement through puppet performances by health workers (1111)
- the campaign sponsored by local government and performed by Raun Raun Theatre through the highlands of Papua New Guinea on themes of malnutrition, scabies, diarrhoea,and venereal disease (929)
- the agricultural campaign in the early 60's in north-east Brazil to promote a new brand of insecticide (172)
- the Malaysian Information Department campaign to persuade the minority Chinese Community to register with the police in Communist-threatened areas (1034)
- the US-funded and organized "counter-insurgency drama" of the early 60's in Laos and Vietnam which propagated anti-Communist ideology, publicized American economic aid, and promoted community development among rural villagers (188)
- the campaign in Guinea to promote participation in agricultural co-ops (1248, p.85)
- the campaign in the late 50's in Madhya Pradesh, India, "to combat the disrupting influences caused by large troupes of prostitutes travelling the rural areas" (970)
- a Punjabi popular theatre campaign, during a severe famine, to "teach the villagers how to queue in orderly fashion when they applied for food relief" (970).

') This campaign was sponsored by US AID and organized through 'Wayang' (shadow puppetry) performances.

Apart from government, there have been a number of non-government agencies which have specialized in development communication through mobile theatre. Two representative examples are Jagran (a mime troupe) and Trashumante (a theatre troupe) which tour the urban slums of Delhi and Mexico City respectively, performing plays on preventative health, government services, and civic rights and responsibilities. (India-Jagran; 1514).

2.1.2. Mobilization Campaigns.

The other approach to centrally-initiated information/education campaigns is to mobilize large numbers of locally based theatre groups to perform plays in their own areas on national issues. The most notable example of this approach is China where in the 50's a mass movement of 280,000 amateur village-level drama groups was created, providing a means of a) popular culture and recreation controlled and run by the villagers themselves and b) education through which peasants could begin to understand the major changes brought about by land reform and other structural changes.

The intervening factor in the Chinese case was not a mobile theatre troupe, but a cultural'animateur' who worked and lived in the villages stimulating the formation of groups and providing training and help in script development.
Distinguishing features of this approach include :

a) the active participation of villagers in creating their own culture (rather than depending on the occasional visit of an outside professional troupe);

b) its largely voluntary nature: it is a people's movement rather than a government department (842);

c) the dialectical interplay between central imposition and local determination of the subject matter for the plays. (729).

Another context in which a mobilization approach has been used has been the mass literacy campaigns in Third World socialist countries, e.g. Algeria (670), Burma (Ye Aung), Cuba (346) Grenada, Nicaragua (242), Somalia (1272), Vietnam (886) etc. Large numbers of locally based theatre groups are drawn into the work of motivating participation in the literacy campaign. For example, most of the amateur drama groups in Nicaragua's popular theatre movement (most of whom are 'campesinos' who combine farming with evening and weekend performances) were formed during Nicaragua's massive literacy effort; their job, which was entirely voluntary, was to promote the campaign and raise people's morale. (207).

2.2. LOCAL EXTENSION WORK AND VILLAGE CADRE TRAINING.

The performing arts are also used in local extension work: the agricultural extension worker, for example, will put on a skit at a farmers' meeting or the health educator a puppet play for women waiting outside the clinic. This is not polished, scripted theatre performed by a mobile troupe of full-time, professional actors; it is rough and improvised theatre, acted out by village-based extension workers, for whom performing is only one of a number of techniques used in their village-level teaching. In the preceding category the performance was the total communication experience; in this case the performance is simply one of a number of methods.

This work is organized on a fairly spontaneous basis by the individual field worker or a number of extension workers will combine their efforts for a local performance or a short, mini-campaign in a number of villages in their area.

Socio-drama and role-playing are also being increasingly used in training courses for village-level development workers, as a means of understanding the socio-political reality of the village and as a technique which the workers can then use in the field. 1). This has been particularly successful among para-professionals, i.e. those cadres selected on the basis of their leadership potential (rather than academic certificates), given basic training, and sent back to work in their own villages. Drama lends itself to the non-academic training required for these cadres, is easily learned, and is a powerful means of bringing into the classroom case study-type exposure to the village reality. (108, 403, 436, 497, 912,1038, 1681).

Some representative examples of activity in this category include :

- the health education plays performed by the staff of Mobile Creches, a Delhi-based family welfare and education agency, for Delhi construction labourers and their families in the evenings on the construction sites (103, 461, 938, 1573-5)
- the day-time performances on family problems (alcoholism, juvenile pregnancies, family conflicts, etc.) presented by a team of health and social workers on first entering each barrio of Mexico City, as a means of education and publicity for their social welfare programme (150)
- the integrated health extension programme in Sierra Leone in which local nurses and members of the village health committees perform dramas to their own communities on locally identified health problems and then organize discussion and committee-led action to solve the problems (497)
- the village "vaccination" dramas performed by local teams of volunteer health paraprofessionals in Guatemala (6)
- the nutrition and family planning dramas performed by health workers in rural South Africa (541, 1513, 1667)
- the clinic-based puppet shows on nutrition performed by health educators in Paraguay (1728), Zambia (1379) and in many other countries

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1) One exception to this is in francophone Africa where the socio-drama used in animation rural led to peasant militancy and this prompted the authorities to discourage its continued use. (Ryckmans, 1971)

- the mixed-media campaign (drama, puppetry, music, and dancing) by teams of field workers to promote groundnut production in southern Zambia (850)
- the puppet shows to promote appropriate technology in the villages of Botswana (255) and India (1143-5)
- plays performed by site-and-service housing staff to explain the benefits and requirements of the new urban housing schemes in Botswana (928) and Zambia (211, 278, 857)
- the development dramas performed by unemployed school leavers in Papua New Guinea (876, 1214) and volunteers of the university service scheme in Indonesia (1725).

2.3.COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPS.

The performing arts have also been used on a local level as a medium for community development and the development of co-ops. In this context performance is more process- than content-oriented: its purpose is not to put across any specific development message but to stimulate a process of community or group problem-solving and action, bringing the community or group together, building community cohesiveness, raising important issues (often identified by the community or group), creating a forum for discussion of these issues, and stimulating community or group action.

The performers in this case are local development workers and/or the villagers themselves; the performances are not isolated one-off events but are meant to be part of a process of community problem identification, problemsolving discussions, and self-help collective action.

Representative examples of this activity include :

- the participatory community socio-dramas performed by members of a native movement in Bolivia as a form of self-education and a stimulus for community action
- the use of drama as an 'intervention strategy' (Ayni Ruway) and 'problem-posing medium' for community education in Bangladesh (1438)
- the community theatre performances in Ghana organized by local cultural groups which have inspired community self-help construction projects (People's Educational Association)
- the annual theatre-based community education and development campaign in northern Botswana (Laedza Batanani)
- the rural reconstruction dramas on self-help themes performed by local youth groups in the Philippines (788, 1015, 1407)
- the psycho-dramas used for community education among the new immigrant populations of Israel (1129)
- the community solidarity-building theatre in rural Mali performed by age-sets (400, 719-20, 1109)
- the socio-dramas performed by members of the newly formed sugar co-ops in Jamaica (382)

- the songs, dramas, and puppet plays produced by members of a women's weaving co-op in Botswana, a means of dealing with tensions within the group and a medium for sharing their insights and concerns with other villagers (221)
- the community theatre workshops in Botswana, Ghana, Nigeria and Zambia
- the community education programme stimulated by mobile teams of full-time actor/animateurs in Mexico (74, 128).

2.4. LITERACY AND VILLAGE-LEVEL TRAINING COURSES.

The performing arts are also used in literacy classes and training courses at the village level. In this context socio-drama, role-playing, mime and songs help to maintain interest and participation in the study sessions and provide a medium for self-expression, participant-created "codes" for discussion, and tools for learning to read.

Drama, music, dance and poetry have played a powerful role in inspiring people to learn to read, from the Bhakti devotional songs in India which encouraged the popular classes to learn to read (1581) to the folk poetry in Brazil which functions as a powerful incentive and primer for informal literacy learning. (305, 452). This emotional appeal has been used to advantage in literacy programmes in which the performing arts are often used as aids in learning. For example in Vietnam literacy students are taught through songs to differentiate between various letters (886). Health lessons in Tanzania and Zaire are reinforced with local proverbs. (530, 1681). In Brazil specially commissioned folk poetry, on development themes, is used as post-literacy reading booklets and in Tanzania traditional oral stories are collected and used for a similar purpose. (452, 1515).

In the Chinese literacy campaigns of the 40s and 50s, plays of the village drama movement often served as primers for literacy study (716). In Jamaica the improvised plays created by a theatre group of working class women are taped, transcribed, and used as reading texts for the illiterate members. This same group has developed a number of physical exercises, dances, and games to reinforce literacy learning. They also dramatize the passages they read from newspapers, developing a critical attitude to print through a kind of "acting between the lines". (953).

In South India the shift from an oral to a scripted tradition in Burrakatha folk plays has been the major inducement for learning to read among Burrakatha performers who are 97% literate. (409). In Nicaragua the same incentive accounted for the high participation in the literacy campaign by members of campesino theatre groups. (207).

Drama, mime, and songs are used in some literacy programmes not only as a medium for literacy learning but also as a means of overcoming the lack of confidence, negative self-image, and psychological conditioning experienced by adult illiterates. Many are initially self-conscious about expressing themselves in a classroom situation; drama, mime, dance or song helps to break the ice and provides a means through which they can express their ideas and begin to take part in verbal dialogue.This conscious use of the performing arts as a confidence-building medium is common to Boal's "theatre by the people" experiments in Peruvian literacy classes (175), the Total Language approach to literacy used in Central America (653-4), the the Freirian conscientization programmes in South India. (1388-9).

Many of the "conscientization" literacy programmes however go beyond this initial stage of mere expression using drama, mime, and role-playing as codes for discussion. Having agreed on a theme, the participants improvise a problem-posing skit which they then discuss. Boal and others have taken this idea further, showing how drama can be used as a tool of analysis itself. Through dramatizing, analysing and re-dramatizing various ways of transforming their situation, participants gain a much clearer idea of the possibilities and implications of each course of action and the underlying political-economic factors which impede change. (175, 386, 569).

In a few cases drama has been used by literacy groups as a means of sharing their awareness with others in the village and mobilizing them to join in collective actions, for example in Botswana (912), Kenya (1222), and India (RCDA). The most impressive example is the Kamirithu community theatre experience in Kenya which grew out of a Freirian literacy programme. The group members became very politicized and decided to expose the social ills (landlessness, unemployment, illiteracy, corruption, etc.) and their causes to their fellow villagers and organize them to join in a popular struggle. Drama was chosen as the vehicle for this educational and organizing effort. A play was written and the whole community took part in rehearsing, analyzing, and performing it. (See Kenya - KCECC).

3. PERFORMING ARTS AND POPULAR STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE.

All of the programmes described so far have been largely government initiatives operating within a conventional development framework. The other category of change-oriented theatre involves non-government initiatives which operate on the margins of or right outside the hold of conventional development. The performing arts in this category have a totally different aim of contributing to a process of structural transformation by movements of agricultural labourers, marginal farmers, migrant workers, urban squatters, and other oppressed groups. The role of the performing arts in this context is to help in the process of educating, politicizing, and organizing the popular classes so that they can defend themselves against victimization and transform the existing power structure.

This implies not only a totally different approach to "development" but a totally different conception of education, communication, culture, and social transformation. In this context the performing arts play a different set of roles :

- a form of popular and participatory communication controlled and used by the popular classes to serve their interests
- a form of popular culture expressing the concerns and aspirations of the popular classes
- a medium of participation and self-expression through which people overcome their fears and develop a sense of their own identity, self-confidence and class consciousness
- a medium of analysis of critiquing dominant class ideas and a means of deepening socio-political understanding
- a means of protesting against oppression and a means of stirring up people's anger to do something about it
- a tool for organizing pressure groups and building a movement
- a forum for working out strategies and tactics
- a means of raising morale and building solidarity.

Within this popular framework performing arts activity takes a number of forms :

1. 'conscientization' or 'agitation' theatre performed by 'outside' middle-class theatre groups to raise the consciousness of the popular classes
2. conscientization drama workshops for peasants, workers, etc. in which the participants dramatize their situation and ways of transforming it
3. theatre of identity; performing arts activity by popular groups whose primary aim is the conscious promotion of identity without any overt didactic aim
4. 'conscientization' or 'agitation' theatre performed by peasants' or workers' theatre groups which has no organic links to a popular movement
5. conscientization-and organizing theatre performed by peasants' or workers' theatre groups within the framework of a popular movement
6. conscientization-and-organizing theatre performed by members of a popular movement without any specialization in theatre.

3.1. CONSCIENTIZATION OR AGITATION THEATRE BY OUTSIDE GROUPS.

This constitutes performances by outside theatre groups for peasants, workers, slumdwellers, etc. aimed at raising the latter's political consciousness. Some of these efforts represent a form of ideological persuation: others are more participatory, engaging the audience in the play and in a post-performance discussion and encouraging people to think through the problems themselves, rather than imposing an analysis and ready-made solutions. In both cases the creation and performance of plays is rooted in a need to identity with and to interpret the socio-political reality of the popular sectors. Often the touring groups also organize short theatre workshops for campesino groups.

Representative examples include :

- the mobile theatre troupes which toured the rural areas of Thailand and Chile in the early 70's, making peasants and fishermen aware of their political rights and promoting the formation of peasant and fishermen unions (61, 247, 1772; 1344)
- Teatro Escambray (and other Cuban groups modeled on them) who tour the mountain regions of Cuba, living and working with the people, creating out of this "participatory research" plays which inspire people's collective efforts and expose the contradictions in post-revolutionary Cuba and encouraging theatre production by the people themselves (see Cuba - Teatro Escambray)
- the women's street theatre groups in India which perform plays and organized discussions on rape, dowry deaths, and other issues of female oppression (44, 274, 938, 1126, 1261-5, 1528)
- the university travelling theatre programme in Algeria, Kenya, northern Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia
- Latin American professional theatre groups such as La Candelaria, TEC, etc. (Colombia), Uniao e Olho Vivo (Brazil), Los Mascarones (Mexico), Yuyachkani (Peru), Ollantay (Ecuador), Teatro Vivo (Guatemala), etc.
- Theatre for National Liberation in Jamaica, New Artists' Movement in St. Vincent, the Movement for Cultural Action in Dominica and other West Indian popular theatre groups (382, 1196, 1576)
- the mobile conscientization theatre programme organized by ECORA (Bolivia) and MEB (Brazil) both non-government radio education projects, as a form of direct reinforcement for the radio-assisted campesino study groups (894, 423)

3.2. CONSCIENTIZATION DRAMA WORKSHOPS FOR PEASANTS, WORKERS, ETC.

These are workshops in which peasants or workers with no previous theatre experience are encouraged to express themselves and analyze their situation through drama. Participants dramatize their situation and different ways of overcoming oppression and then critique each of these improvisations. This process of creating, analyzing, and recreating socio-drama deepens participants' socio-political understanding, overcomes some of the fears, myths, and rationalizations which reinforce passivity, and opens up some of the possibilities for organizing and struggling against oppression. The workshops are often organized by the theatre-workers referred to in the previous category.

Boal's "theatre by the people" experiments in the ALFIN Literacy classes (Peru) have been the major inspiration for this activity. Other notable examples are :

- the workshops organized by the Movimento de Educaçao de Base in Brazil before the 1964 coup (102, 170,423)
- the "Labrish" workshops with women's groups, prisoners, slum-dwellers, sugar workers, etc. in Jamaica

- the campesino workshops organized by the Popular Communication Centre in Panama (253, 972), the Ecuador Project (494-5, 735), and Teatro Vivo (1602)
- the farmers' workshops in northern Nigeria (1, 2, 108, 386, 524-6)
- the peasants' workshops in post-revolutionary Guinee-Bissau (428, 634, 700).

3.3. THEATRE OF IDENTITY.

This activity is concerned with the revival or revitalization of the culture of oppressed groups which have been repressed, denigrated, or appropriated (for commercial purposes) by the dominant classes. Its aim is to encourage participation and cultural expression by the popular classes and through it the growth of identity and self-confidence. It has no overt didactic aim: its agenda is the agenda of the participants, whatever they decide to express through their cultural forms. The long-term aim is a cultural resurgence which can provide the basis for popular action.
Examples of activity in this category include :

- Teatro Anonimo Identificador, a Colombian theatre experiment based on extensive folklore research and the untapped creative talent of the people (659, 1257-9)
- the rough, improvised dramas performed by villagers in the Bolivian highlands as a form of celebration, inter-village communication, and an organizing tool for the Ayni Ruway movement (659, 690, 894, 903, 1424-6)
- Yoruba (Barbados) and other "black consciousness" performing groups in the Caribbean (659)
- the Samba dance groups in Brazil.

3.4. PEASANTS'/WORKERS' THEATRE WITHOUT POPULAR ORGANIZING.

This constitutes conscientization theatre activities by campesino or workers' theatre groups who operate on an independent cultural force with no organic links to popular movements. The only differences between this category and the first category are (a) class affiliation - theatre group members are drawn from the popular classes - and (b) theatre is locally produced, i.e. by groups within the barrio or village rather than coming from outside the village. This activity serves an important popular culture/communication function: putting into the hands of the people a tool of horizontal communication with which they can express the views and interests of their class, protest against oppression, create a critical class consciousness, and resist the propaganda conveyed by the dominant class media.

This theatre work often operates as a broad-based movement of locally based amateur theatre groups. Some of these movements develop out of centralised initiatives, e.g. the peasant theatre workshops organized by PETA and MSPCS in the Philippines (592) or MECATE in Nicaragua (1244);

others develop as grass-roots initiatives in each barrio or peasant community as one product of a growing class consciousness.

Examples of this category include :

- the popular culture centres in Brazil before the 1964 coup (102, 171, 423)
- the movements of campesino and barrio theatre groups in Bolivia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Venezuela, and other parts of Latin America
- the popular culture movement in post-revolutionary Nicaragua (57, 78-9, 207, 241, 680), Mozambique (115, 669, 1161, 1451, 1469), Angola (394, 1207) and Grenada (4)
- conscientization theatre in the black townships of South Africa (52, 786, 1163-6)
- "resistance" culture in Chile (20, 273, 471), Guatemala, El Salvador, etc.
- the Sistren Women's theatre movement in Jamaica (566-9, 595, 953, 1096, 1594)
- Samudaya and IPTA popular theatre movements in southern and eastern India respectively (1338, 1705; Samudaya)
- the Chicano theatre movement in the USA (204, 25[illegible], 355-6, 737-9, 851-3, 1760) and the migrant workers' theatre movement in France (107, 132, 627, 1023-4).

3.5. PEASANTS'/WORKERS' THEATRE FOR CONSCIENTIZATION AND ORGANIZING.

This is a more engaged version of the previous category. Campesino and barrio theatre in this case is strategically linked to a process of education, politicalization, movement-building and struggle. For example the barrio theatre group attached to the Centro de Comunicación Popular in Lima, Peru or its equivalent in Guadalajara, Mexico, is the communication/education arm of a barrio organization. It gears its activities to the educational and mobilizational needs of the barrio organization rather than operating independently. It meets weekly with the other organizational units of the barrio organization to work out joint strategies and tactics. When there is a crisis or struggle or need for building support for the movement, it quickly improvises an appropriate performance and puts it on. In addition to the functions mentioned in the previous section, popular theatre in this case plays an important mobilizational role: clarifying the target and arousing support for the struggle, working out strategies and tactics, building morale, etc.

Some of the groups in the previous category also fall into this category. Out of experience they recognize the importance of integrating their efforts with those of a popular movement and begin to relate their theatre more directly to an organizing process.

Other examples of this category include :

- peasants', fishermen's, slumdwellers' and agricultural labourers' theatre groups in the Philippines (See Philippines - MSPC, PETA)
- centres of popular communication in Peru (83, 265, 781, 1069)
- the community theatre group in Kamirithu, Kenya, which is part of a squatters' organization (see Kenya - KCECC)
- the early work of Teatro Campesino in supporting the organizing and struggles by California agricultural workers (87, 125, 684, 724, 740, 934, 1662)
- the Ambulantes de Puebla, a group of Mexican street vendors who formed their own theatre group to protest against police harassment and to organize other street vendors to join them in pressuring government to change the licensing laws (1497 - 1500).

3.6. POPULAR MOVEMENT DRAMA.

This is simply an organizational alternative of the preceding category. Instead of assigning theatre to a specific group within the movement, the ordinary members of the movement take part in the cultural activities. So it has elements of category 2, i.e. ordinary peasants and workers, without any theatre experience, expressing themselves through drama; but it goes beyond category 2: members of the popular movement not only 'rehearse' various courses of action but they have the organizational base to carry them out.

Examples of activities in this category include :

- the landless labourers' organizations in Bangladesh (858,900) and India (RCDA, 433, 726,895,947,1017, 1049,1261-4,5, 1374-5, 1388, 1553, 1556-7)
- the comunidades de base in various parts of Latin America
- the spontaneous picket-line drama and songs in various Latin-American struggles, serving to build up morale or celebrate important victories.

4. SUMMARY OF ORGANIZATIONAL APPROACHES.

To summarize some of the variations in organizational approaches: some of the programmes are national in scope, others are local; some are initiated by national government agencies, others by village-level extension workers or community animateurs, some by theatre groups, and others by popular organizations or community groups. Some of the centralized programmes are generalist efforts of a government information department or a specialised development theatre group (e.g. Jagran), others are the subject specific initiatives of a sectoral agency (e.g. agriculture, health, family planning); some are institutionalized on a permanent basis, others are "one-off" campaigns; some involve the hiring or commissioning of mobile professional troupes, others train the agency staff for a mobile or residential programme, and others mobilize village-based theatre groups; in some cases the performers are full-time professionals, in others part-time amateurs, and in others development workers, literacy teachers, community animateurs, or ordinary villagers for whom drama is only a small part of their job or group/community participation; in some cases performing arts activity is a full programme in its own right, in other cases it is simply one of a number of methods or tools used by an extension worker, animateur, literacy teacher, or popular movement. Some are collaborative projects, involving, for example, the combined skills of adult educators and theatre workers, or extension workers from different government departments; others are the initiatives of an individual agency, theatre group, or extension worker.

5. THE ROLE OF THE PERFORMING ARTS: FROM VISUAL AID TO POPULAR ASSEMBLY.

The role of the performing arts varies from programme to programme, although they do fulfill a number of functions common to every programme : for example attracting an audience and holding their interest (through entertainment), overcoming the literacy barrier, communicating on a face-to-face basis in the language and idiom of the people (in contrast with the impersonal, remote, urban-oriented mass media), provoking an emotional and sometimes analytical response, and providing a form of entertainment valid in its own right.

In the context of information-education campaigns, the performing arts are a form of compensatory mass media, reaching out to remote rural populations not touched by conventional mass media and convincing people to accept messages which the modern mass media are limited, by their language and style, in effectively communicating. In the context of extension work the performing arts are a teaching tool. In both cases they operate as media of information and persuasion: promoting government ideology, the ideas of modernization, and participation in government programmes.

In the context of community development and literacy classes, the performing arts are participational media: they are meant to provide a vehicle of participation and a forum and a focus for raising and analyzing local problems, decision-making, and collective action, in a community and group context respectively. In both cases the emphasis is on stimulating active involvement in performing, discussing and taking action rather than putting across a specific message. In particular the performing arts are valued as a medium for raising and resolving contentious issues (221, 228, 1108); they are also used to rally people's spirits during community work projects. (573).

In their role as a form of popular culture, the performing arts represent recovery, revival, and reassertion of the validity of people's culture; they also represent a break from and resistance to the dominant culture, an affirmation of ideas, values, aspirations which support popular interests.

In their role as a form of popular communication, they are "media" which can be controlled by the popular classes, and used to serve their interests. They are not dependent on a centralized resource (e.g. radio station) controlled by a central authority; they draw on the community-based creative resources of the people, a feature which potentially puts them within the control of the popular classes. Used in a certain way, they can become a means of horizontal, dialogical communication among the popular classes and a medium of democratic expression, a people's tool to express their concerns and their analysis of the system, including dissent and protest.

In the context of conscientization or psycho-social learning, the performing arts serve two roles :

a) a psychological one of building participants' identity and self-confidence, through a process of participation, self-expression, and interaction;

b) an analytical one in which participants develop critical class consciousness through a process of questioning and challenging the everyday understandings, ruling class myths, rationalizations, etc. controlling consciousness, including the myth that the world cannot be transformed.

The performing arts are able to provide an objectification or codification of reality, a means of mirroring reality in order to stand back and study it creatively. In this case drama attempts to show not only the immediate situation but the larger socio-political system of which it is a part. The particular strength of drama is its capacity to portray conflict, which lends itself to a dialectical reading of the world, revealing the underlying class relationships and structures which influence social situations. ') This view of the world must be consolidated and sharpened through dialogue : the role of drama in this case is not to provide a finished view of the world, to prescribe the answers but to engage the audience itself in the production of meaning, in finishing or resolving the drama.

In the context of popular organizing and struggle, the performing arts play a range of roles : bringing members together and building solidarity and a sense of class consciousness; sharing with others in the community/organization the discussions which have gone on within a study or leadership group; keeping members informed about the movement; celebrating important victories and building confidence in popular power; deepening discussion and understanding of the major issues; exposing injustice, drawing out people's dissatisfaction, questioning what is normally accepted; voicing protest, poking fun at the oppressors, overcoming people's fears, and stirring their emotions; clarifying the target for a specific struggle and assuring massive support; working out

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') Boal and others have shown how drama can be used not only to analyse reality but to rehearse various strategies for change.

the strategies and tactics for struggle; "rehearsing" struggle and building up confidence; raising morale and solidarity on the picket line; evaluating the struggle.
This wide range of functions, however, is only because of the sustained organizing process and other activities for which drama plays a supportive role.

6. METHODS.

The other significant differences among these activities relate to method :

a) the content, form, and creative process of the performance

b) the degree of participation by the audience or participants

c) the relationship between the performance and on-going educational and organizational work at the village level.

The accompanying table sets out the variations in method for each category of performing arts activity. On one end of the continuum is the centrally produced, monological, one-off "domestication" theatre of the information campaigns; on the other is the peasant-produced, multi-functional drama used within an on-going educational and organizational process.

The information campaigns tend to operate in top-down, "banking" fashion: centrally determined messages prepared by experts are disseminated through mobile troupes to passive audiences. The object is persuasion rather than promoting a questioning, critical attitude. The plays are "finished" works - a bureaucrat's analysis of the peasants' "objective" needs and problems and a prescription of a technical solution. The audience have no involvement in shaping the message, in developing the creative event, and rarely in responding to the performance. The audience members are treated as individual spectators and are expected to respond individually to the performance, rather than interacting with others in the audience. Follow-up is often limited because the performance is a one-off event, initiated from outside the community without close co-ordination with the local development workers.

The performing arts in extension work overcome some of these limitations: the drama is created locally and is much more responsive to the real needs of the village or barrio; the extension worker who performs the drama can do his/her own follow-up, relating the performance to an on-going programme of education and distribution of services. However, the plays remain the finished, solution-prescribing monologue of the previous category. Post-performance discussion, where this happens, is more an exercise in generating feedback, in checking to make sure that people have understood the message than one of provoking an open-ended analysis of the socio-political roots of the problems and the implications of each proposed course of action. "Action" is still couched in terms of individual adoption of the prescribed modernization practices.

PROGRAMME CONTEXT	FUNCTION	SOURCE OF INITIATIVE	PERFORMER	CONTENT	AUDIENCE/LEARNERS	THEATRE FORM/ CREATIVE PROCESS	DISCUSSION	FOLLOW-UP ORGANIZING/ACTION	POPULAR CONTROL OF PROCESS
MOBILE INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS	mass communication of information/ideology	central government	paid professional troupes from outside community	general, national messages: government ideology/services, modernizing practices (prescribed by planners)	mass, undifferentiated - isolated individuals drawn together for a single occasion	polished, finished plays based on centrally produced scripts	little/no organized post-performance discussion	after performance actors "hit the road" - follow-up left to local development workers - expected response is individual use of government services	nil
MOBILIZATION CAMPAIGNS	mass communication of information/ideology; mobilizing mass participation	central government through its party network	locally based amateur theatre groups	party ideology and issues of class struggle and modernization practices	community members meeting as a community	polished, finished plays based on centrally or locally produced scripts	discussion (in China) is organized in other on-going contexts e.g. commune meetings, study groups, etc.	in China - follow-up is organized by [illegible] workers. Each performance relates to an on-going educational/organizational process within each community.	Dialectical interplay between centralized imposition and local initiative
EXTENSION WORK	teaching modernization practices	local extension worker	local extension worker	locally tailored, technical messages on modernization themes (determined by field workers)	mass, undifferentiated - isolated individuals (not collectivizing experience)	rough, improvised plays based on field worker's assessment of local problems	discussion is token, used to reinforce message rather than to facilitate critical analysis	follow-up carried out by field workers - expected response is individual use of government services.	Little
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	facilitating process of community problem-solving, decision-making, action	local development worker	local development worker & community members	community problems identified by development workers and/or community leaders	all members of a "community", no matter what their class, meeting as a community	rough, improvised plays in which community members dramatize community problems	organized post-performance discussion aimed at solving local problems; focus on technical aspects rather than political-economic dimension	expected response: community action, this happens when the community has an organizational framework for collective action. Community actions are not a threat to the status quo	compromised/token: real control often exercised by development workers and/or members of village elite
CONSCIENTIZATION THEATRE BY OUTSIDERS	raising political awareness of campesinos, workers, etc.	middle-class theatre group	mobile or locally-based middle-class theatre group (operating out of political commitment)	critical content: issues of the popular classes drawn out of dialogue or participatory research	peasants, workers, other oppressed groups	collectively produced plays often based on participatory research and [illegible], leaving room for audience involvement	in some cases D is token; in others it is important aspect used to deepen participants' understanding	links to popular organizing limited	partial control
CONSCIENTIZATION DRAMA WORKSHOPS/ FREIRIAN LITERACY	facilitating a process of critical analysis	theatre animateur	peasants with no previous acting experience	" " "	peasants/workers drawn from a common occupational background (e.g. fishermen, landless labourers, etc)	total audience involvement: theatre as process rather than product; peasants dramatize their own situation & ways of transforming it	discussion is an organic part of a process of improvisation-analysis-improvisation (rather than tacked on at the end)	workshops produce a high level of critical awareness but lack the organizational capacity to transform these ideas into action	" "
CAMPESINO THEATRE WITHOUT POPULAR ORGANIZING	communicating popular analysis & politicizing campesinos	campesino theatre group	locally based peasant theatre groups	" " "	" " "	collectively produced plays based on peasants' analysis of their own situation	organized post-performance discussion aimed at politicization	links to popular organizing limited	popular control over the theatre activity
CAMPESINO THEATRE WITH POPULAR ORGANIZING	contributing to a process of organizing and struggle	popular organization	campesino members of a popular movement	specific issues of oppression around which the popular movement is organizing	peasants/workers meeting in a popular organization (performance to a group who are faced by the problem/issue or already organized)	theatre as process & product: uses drama to focus a struggle and "role playing" to prepare for it	discussion concerned with strategies and tactics for struggle	total, social transformation process: conscientization, organizing and struggle - drama is only one of the means used in this process	popular control over organizing process

In community development and community education, the "audience" becomes more actively engaged in the process. Community members often take part in determining the issues and performing the drama, the dramas are often open-ended (leaving the solution to the post-performance discussion), the performance event is a community forum with members discussing problems and working out collective solutions, and action is framed in collective terms. However, often this process is controlled and manipulated by the local development workers or the village elite who dominate community institutions. The underlying structural issues are evaded and action is channelled into activity, such as self-help construction projects, which rarely disturbs the status quo and gets at the structural roots of the real problems. Participation is orchestrated as a more effective means of fitting people into the plans and structures defined by dominant groups.

In the context of popular education, the dramas are not only left "unfinished" but they are also presented and discussed in ways which provoke a critical analysis of the problems and the various possibilities for action. The object is not to impose a narrow reading of reality nor to prescribe ready-made solutions but to challenge people to ask their own questions about the political-economic structure which conditions their oppression. Theatre in this category is distinguished from that of the previous category by its social class position: where the former treats geographically defined "communities" as harmonious entities in which different class interests are ignored, the latter is geared to the oppressed or popular sector of the "community". It involves not a mass, undifferentiated audience but groups of people sharing common occupations and economic interests, e.g. landless labourers, sharecroppers, migrant workers, etc.

In some of the programmes drama is performed by outside groups: the form of the drama often permits audience involvement and the drama changes from performance to performance based on audience criticism. In other programmes peasants and workers create their own theatre, expressing their view of the world. Instead of passively receiving the finished plays of a professional troupe, they are making their own theatre and using it to develop their own ideas and try out various strategies for overcoming oppression.

At its best discussion becomes woven into the process of scenario-making, of "writing the world" through improvization and collective critique, rather than an artificial ritual tacked on at the end of a "finished" play.

Some theatre work in this category, however, is limited by its organizational context. While it does spark authentic participation and critical insight, it operates without an organizational vehicle to convert discussion into action. This is what Encalada calls "convocatory" communication: communication which simply calls people together for a single event without any organizational base. Conscientization theatre, no matter how participatory, does not on its own create a strong organization nor the conditions for a successful struggle. "Rehearsing" the struggle on the stage does not mean to carry it out in action.

Conscientization theatre within a popular movement overcomes this limitation. It is no longer conceived as the primary mobilizing agent nor the main source of learning: it is drama-within-an-organizing-process, one of a number of activities which serve a broader aim of building a popular movement and transforming unjust structures. It helps to focus, to reinforce other means or organizing and politicizing but it is not the sole catalyst for social change. People are not only called together;they are drawn into an organizational framework in which they develop common objectives and work together. The performing arts are used in different ways at different stages of the organizing process: from the initial stage of overcoming fear and the internalized myths to the later stages of organizing support for mass actions.

7. CONFLICTING STRATEGIES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE.

The above-mentioned differences in approach are not accidental, a matter of selecting optional methodologies; they reflect distinct political economic views of the world and contradictory material interests :

> 'For some development is handing over technology to the unskilled so that they can become more productive: for others it is awakening the intellectual and decision-making potential of rural people so that they themselves can change the very structure of society.' (Diaz Bordenave, 1977).

La Belle (1976) provides a useful label for these two models of development : "deprivation-development" and "dependency-liberation". The former is based on the view that poverty or disadvantage is self-afflicted, that the poor are poor because they have certain deficiencies or inadequacies ('deprivation'). The solution ('development') is to overcome their "backward" ideas and bad habits and replace them with new ways of thinking and behaving. The latter type of programme views disadvantage as a consequence of structural inequalities that keep oppressed groups in a state of dependency on the economic and political decisions made by the dominant groups. The corresponding strategy is to awaken the consciousness of the oppressed about their rights and collective power so that they can challenge and transform the relationship of dependency (ie liberation).

The model of non-formal education and social change which is accepted (deprivation-development or dependence-liberation) determines the methods and strategies adopted.

The "deprivation-development" world-view conditions the "banking" approach of the conventional development programmes: since the poor are "backward" or "traditional" the developmentalists' job is to inject them with new habits and knowledge. For those in the opposite camp this development as "banking" approach is seen as integrating the poor into the structures which are keeping them exploited, converting their anger into self-blame and redirecting their collective potential into individualized actions for adjusting to the system, or collective actions which do not threaten the system. So the approach of the popular educators/organizers is one which promotes an active rather than a passive response, encourages people to question and analyze the issues (rather than merely accepting the ideas and directions of the animateurs), works on their anger and dissatisfaction with their situation (rather than anaesthetizing them to adjust to it), develops their confidence, unity, and fighting spirit, and encourages collective challenges against the oppressive structures.

8. FOLK MEDIA AND POPULAR THEATRE.

The discussion so far has used the neutral term "performing arts" in order to refer to the wide variety of forms and contexts of performance activity. In the literature, however, the more specific descriptors - folk media and popular theatre - are more commonly used.

"Folk media" was coined to reflect the communication potential of the traditional performing arts. While this could have been applied to bottom-up, participatory uses of the "people's media", in practice it has been used to describe performing arts actively within a top-down, externally controlled modernization framework. "Popular theatre", on the other hand, has been applied to performing arts activity which reflects popular perspectives and forms, is controlled by the popular classes, and is used in relation to an overall aim of structural transformation.

The concept "folk media" only gained currency in development circles in the 70's. By this time the original "top-down" communication model had taken a beating and various alternatives were being examined. Folk media was proposed as a supplement to the mass media, making up for the latter's remoteness, vertical structure, and urbanized language with "face-to-face", "bottom-up", "dialogue" in the "language and idiom of the people" (See, for example, 431, 486, 837, 988, 1046, 1292, 1321, 1368).

This interest in folk media, though, was not a mere shift in the taste of development communicators. It coincided with critical changes in the political economic strategy of the ruling classes. During the previous two decades (1950-1970) there was no material reason for a mass communication and education programme directed to the rural poor: the marginal farmers and landless labourers. Development was a matter of "better on the rich" and was aimed at the large capitalist farmers, especially during the Green Revolution when the new capital inputs were directed to and appropriated by the rich landowning class. Mass media did its job of supporting this type of development, getting information out of the rich farmers about miracle seeds, loans, irrigation, etc. But by the 70's the contradictions of this monopoly capitalist development programme - increasing landlessness, unemployment, impoverishment, and urban migration of rural peasants- required a means of dealing with the tensions and conflicts. McNamara's Little Green Revolution prescribed a strategy for directing development resources and welfare services to the rural poor, as a means of containing social discontent. However, it contained no plans for major structural reform, eg. land reform. (Feder, 1976).

This new strategy, in communication terms, required ways of: a) getting to the rural poor, many of whom were outside the influence of the mass media and b) persuading them to accept the new dominant class solutions for poverty (birth control pills, loans, modernization ideas, mini-Green Revolution technology, etc.). Folk media was one approach that suited this purpose: the traditional performers (eg. an estimated 150,000 in India) were out in the villages, not stuck in the central offices or radio stations, and had day-to-day contact with the people; as age-old, community-based, and trusted sources of information and enlightenment, performed by community "opinion leaders" (eg. the Indonesian dalangs for whom there is great respect), folk media could be more convincing than the modern mass media. Folk media are not dependent on externally produced equipment or skills; they were seen as a low-cost, "appropriate communication technology" drawing on the skills and creativity of the people. Folk media were to be tools for putting across information, changing attitudes and habits, and legitimizing development programmes, within an informal context of entertainment and a community get-together.

The folk media strategy, which has been formalized through a number of international meetings (10, 488, 579, 583, 767, 1461, 1561, 1607, 1645, 1652) and publications (489, 528, 772, 1219, 1371,1430, 1651) includes:

- national studies and inventories on folk media and their characteristics
- analysis and experimentation to determine which forms are "flexible" enough to permit modern messages
- various tactics for inserting messages into the dramatic content (eg. assigning the propaganda to the jester or narrator character who has traditional license to make social commentary)
- performer training, pretesting and evaluation (1371, 1652).

The Indian "Song and Drama" programme regards folk media as the specialist work of a trained communicator who carries out the above tasks; in Indonesia the folk media programme relies more on the ability of the 'dalangs' (traditional puppeteers) who are invited to "upgradings" where they are briefed on development messages and encouraged to work out the most appropriate ways for incorporating them in the performance. Unlike the Indian and Indonesian programmes in which the feudal values in the folk media are left largely intact (except where they directly contradict a modernization message, eg. pro-natalist sentiments) the Chinese rooted out reactionary feudal values and in the process were forced to transform not only the content but also the form. (843).

The folk media strategy has been, with a few exceptions, largely confined to Asia. In Africa and Latin America socially oriented performing arts activity normally involves trained artists, rather than traditional performers. Some of the exceptions include the use of folk poetry in Brazil (Cordel), the "traditional" concert parties in West Africa (499, 790, 806-8), village cultural groups in Ghana (PEA), age-sets in Mali (201, 1109), and calypsonians in the eastern Caribbean (233, 500).

While folk media are often described as "dialogical", "two-way", "participatory" media, in practice they are normally used in the same vertical structure as the modern mass media, imposing centrally produced, finished "readings" of reality on a passive audience. The "people's performers" become simply the mouthpiece for the dominant class and their credibility as a genuine folk expression of the people is destroyed. People's cultural resources are appropriated to serve the narrow utilitarian needs of development communication and in the process they are undetermined as a medium of communication among the popular classes. (296, 447, 1037, 1410).

Resistance to the instrumentalization of "folk media" for propagandist purposes is not only the concern of academics. In Indonesia one form of "modernization" puppetry was stopped by popular protest (658,1720); in China traditional opera troupes performing excessively propagandist pieces were stoned (291); in India and Sri Lanka numerous instances have been cited of audiences walking away from "modernization" folk dramas (635, 463); and in Burma a folk media experiment initiated by the Army ended in failure. (639).

Some critics of the folk media strategy have proposed an alternative approach, using folk media not as a vehicle for development messages, but in its unadulterated form as a) an expression of popular critiques of development orthodoxy (832) or b) a tool for studying dominant class ideological control of people's culture (452).

"Popular theatre", on the other hand, represents the authentic expression of the popular classes, i.e. one which advances their own interests (rather than those of the dominant classes). Its historical origins lie in the increasing extractive demands of national and multinational capital which give rise to their dialectical opposite - struggles by agricultural labourers, marginal farmers, underemployed workers, marginalized tribal groups, and other exploited groups to defend themselves against the pressures of surplus appropriation and to fight for land, better working conditions, and structural changes. In these struggles popular theatre becomes one of a number of tools used in the educational and organizational process.

Popular theatre may incorporate the forms and trappings of the folk performing arts. However, popular theatre theorists argue that people's culture or folk culture reflects the dependency relations of the society in which it functions, reinforcing feudal and other hierarchical values. (538). A distinction, therefore, must be made between:

a) peoples culture - the autonomous expression, values, customs, etc. of the people which has imbedded within it ruling class ideology and
b) popular culture - which is built out of selective aspects of people's culture that reflect their true interests, for example, elements of protest and resistance against the structures of domination.

Popular education is the process of "rediscovering" these genuine popular elements and "returning them systematically to the people." (1244)

9. HISTORY OF PEOPLE'S THEATRE.

The bibliography also attempts to bring together some of the more important documents on the history of socially-oriented performing arts. Some of the patterns reflected include :

- the "folk"performing arts under feudalism included elements of protest, but on the whole represented "false consciousness", the internalization of the ideology of the dominant feudal class;
- the indigenous performing arts were undermined under colonialism through legislation, the change in the mode and relations of production, and through outright suppression; yet
- the performing arts of the rural masses lived on as a defense against the inroads of colonial cultural influence;
- indigenous cultural expression within the colonial enclaves was systematically repressed and new forms were created in response to the new modes and relations of production;
- the performing arts were used by the colonial forces as a propaganda and socializing tool to legitimize colonial invasion and domination, and to promote religious teachings, and colonial social development programmes;
- the performing arts were used by the colonized as a means of building identity and self-assertion (an antidote to colonial denigration), of raising awareness, of making protest, of arousing resistance, and of building and unifying nationalist struggle.

GLOSSARY.

ABU	Ahmadu Bello University (Nigeria)
ALFIN	National Literacy Programme (Peru)
CD	Community Development
CECOP	Popular Communication Centre (Peru)
Chikwakwa	Popular theatre movement (Zambia)
Cordel	Name of folk poetry (Brazil)
FELDA	Federal Land Development Agency (Malaysia)
IMDEC	Mexican Institute for Community Development
JAGRAN	Indian development theatre group
KCECC	Kamirithu Community Educational and Cultural Centre
Laedza Batanani	Community education theatre campaign (Botswana)
MEB	Movimento de Educacao de Base (Brazil)
MSPC	Mindanao-Sulu Pastoral Commission (Philippines)
My Brothers Children	Yoruba opera on Family Planning (Nigeria)
NAEP	National Adult Education Programme (India)
PEA	People's Educational Association (Ghana)
PETA	Philippines Educational Theatre Association
RCDA	Rural Community Development Association (India)
SAMUDAYA	Popular theatre movement (India)
Sistren	Women's theatre group (Jamaica)
Wayang	Indonesian/Malaysian shadow puppetry

The Popular Performing Arts, Non-Formal Education and Social Change in the Third World: A Bibliography

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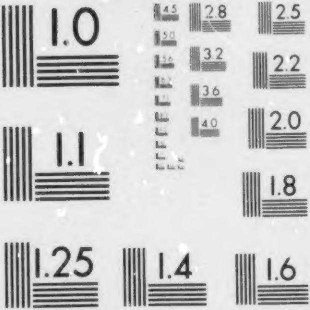

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